1: Gontinde--799 E-5 (1919-1924) 1927 5106 Tahgan 5106

/913 cont./

Since every adult in the Ifugao but thoroughly reviews in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very excitedly pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious haste between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

Fig. 86. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /914/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

Figure 86 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Noticeably in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with limi powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 86 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

/926 cont./
drawings and persons are carried out, depending on the artistic fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears the hapaxli and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the deceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding through the entire room. As is the case with these dance movements in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body. Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and downward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in opposite directions from one exit to the other.

Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in the fikaya hut, a great many people were gathered together. All of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we are but a very /926/ few. We hardly know how to perform the fikaya beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next evening I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see the many who were with me in the fikaya for the first time; today I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were still many people living and we were a large family. But today I am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/925 cont./

X881 535 769 152 time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tone: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152 Once old Whaits also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night, no one stops him.

X881 533 6. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

/1120 cont./

765 152 themselves flat on the ground and for a time behave as though they were mad. This need not surprise one, for after their continuous exertion they finally lose all self-control and mental power. It is possible that /1121/ this strange behavior has caused a person in strict mourning to be called hannúšun, or hannuškípa. BD:265 explains this as: "A man, woman like a hánnuš, i.e., insane, senseless" /cited in English/.

The people from the neighboring huts join the strict mourners several times a day, not all at once, but irregularly and freely in individual groups. The latter are still vigorous, and they fall in with the singing of those present and stimulate them anew; hence the singing does not stop day or night. Even if all the families have left the scene of death after two to four days, the mourners soon begin their weeping again at the place where they erect their hut. They stimulate the new neighbors here to take part in their lamentation. At first they devote a great many hours to it, and fewer later on, but they continue it even after two and three years, although then only at longer intervals (63).

63. Hyades (q):379 agrees: "This great sorrow soon subsides; nevertheless the women nurse their grief for several months, repeating the scenes of tears and lamentations almost every day" /translated from French/.

It is customary to interject the well-known, ancient formulas of lament and the reproaches against Watayinéjwa into the singing (p.989). This is done not only by the nearest relatives, but also by friends and neighbors who happen to take part in this song of mourning. Everyone, of course, appears with one of the customary body paintings of mourning. It is the absolute duty of every adult Yamana to accompany for a few hours every day those mourners who are relieving their souls of grief through loud whimpering and groaning. This goes on day and night and arouses the sympathy of everyone in the neighboring huts.

If someone dies during a čiéxaus or kína and the participants hear of it, they, too, devote several days and many hours to the customary song of mourning. As Nelly Lawrence asserted, the western Yamana customarily inserted a ceremony of mourning

•769

/1121 cont./

769 resembling a yamalaŕemóina into each čiéxaus celebration, even if no one had died meanwhile. During this ceremony they vividly remembered in particular those persons who in former years had taken a very active part in the affair. The other groups now and then imitated this custom. While it was going on, the participants, each to himself, thought about the deceased person whose loss was most painful to them, and they painted themselves to indicate the manner of his death. A true Yamana can never quite forget his dead, even though their names are no longer mentioned.

765 262 It has already been mentioned that for a few days the nearest relatives of a deceased person take almost no nourishment. Their neighbors and friends generally follow their example, especially if a murder is being mourned. Formerly even children were made to fast, and everywhere there was strict quiet. In order to carry out all this undisturbed, /1122/ the mourners sometimes retired into the nearby woods and stayed there for a few days and nights, weeping and moaning beside an open fire. After that they returned to their dwellings. The women who told me this were unstinting in their admiration for the hardiness of their countrymen of former times and frankly confessed that they themselves lacked the strength and perseverance for such feats.

767 Although everyone willingly participates in a song of mourning, there is a type of wailing woman who may on occasion assist someone. A person will invite these women if he himself has no near relatives, for with the loss that death has inflicted upon him he feels his isolation all the more painfully. Shame also plays a certain role in the case of a person who clearly feels that the death he mourns is a punishment for wrongdoing and who is made conscious of it by others. During the first few days nature quite impetuously demands her rights and the mourner expresses his grief without restraint; later he is sometimes overcome by consciousness of his guilt. According to ancient custom, the lamenting, groaning, weeping, and singing must continue for several weeks. Sometimes distant relatives or friends chosen at random are given this duty. On occasion, as so-called arnémutu tálauwaia, they render an outstanding performance. Men also may do this, and they act on special invitation; indeed they are enlisted, so to speak, and receive some reward for their efforts. These so-called weeping women simply repeat the customary

/1123 cont./

•769 A certain group of travelers has notoriously emphasized that our Fuegians are not afraid of corpses. Hyades (g):39 maintains: "They seem not to have the slightest fear of death and of corpses"; he refers to a man who "opened the grave of his recently deceased wife for the French." He may be speaking here of the same matter that he (i):618 mentions elsewhere: "I still have only one skeleton. It is that of a woman about thirty years old, which I bought from her husband seven or eight days after her death" /translated from French/. One should not generalize from the behavior of an individual Indian. Shortly thereafter another Yamana with his two wives came to the mission in Ushuaia where Hyades happened to be staying and where he had established a small hospital. The Fuegian, despite a severe illness, refused to let himself be cared for there; "the reason for his refusal, not concealed, was the fear that he would suffer the same fate as the exhumed woman" /translated from French/. Lovisato (b):149, too, expresses his surprise that a certain "Fred did not show any aversion to selling the skeleton of his father" /translated from Italian/. Nevertheless, there was no lack of resistance, as Bove honestly admits in (b):107 and in (MM:XVII, 262;1883): "At first my request for human skeletons met with some remonstrance from the Fuegians, but Oococco, understanding what my object was in making a collection, successfully arranged this matter. Some of them sold me offhand the bones of their fathers" /cited in English/. According to my inquiries, Bove exhumed the skeletons only from the cemetery of the mission station at Ushuaia. Since, as is known, all the Indians who had lost a relative in death purposely avoided this station, it is probably understandable that, under pressure or for ample remuneration, this or that Fuegian who had no interest in the graves there helped Bove. The isolated behavior of a few, /1124/ however, does not disprove the fact that the Yamana show a decided timidity with regard to human remains and that those which are accidentally exposed by nature's blind forces are immediately destroyed by fire (64).

64. In Bove (e):159 one can read: "The ease with which Bove obtained skeletons is incompatible with the veneration for the dead which

/1124 cont./

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Fitz-Roy, as well as the missionaries, praise them for. One of the men accompanying Bove even sold the skeleton of his own father to which he addressed the following speech: 'Farewell, precious father! You who in life saw only our snow and our storms, now that you are dead are going far away. Farewell! May your journey be happy!'"

Today we shake our heads at the boldness with which such fantastic descriptions could be set forth a few decades ago. The Lawrence brothers to whom I showed the account absolutely declared it to be a bold invention. Finally one must keep in mind that Bove would never have accumulated his considerable collection of skeletons and skulls if it had not been furnished him from the mission cemetery. He does not maintain that the scattered, scarcely recognizable individual graves outside were ever pointed out and opened for him.

It is well known that they wipe out every trace indicating the site of a grave (p. 1053).

765 152 A touching example of the sincerity of their grief for a deceased person exists from olden times. On November 27, 1958, Despard met a one-eyed man in Beagle Channel and inquired about the cause of his misfortune. The man answered that because of a deceased person dear to him he had wept so much that one of his eyes ran out. "Man die, here ashore, be very sorry, cry very much, eye ran away in water all over cheek; yes, sir!" /cited in English./ Our Fuegians never forget the loved ones whom death has taken from them.

765 533 It is well known that the tšiaŋwaja gives the Yamana a very welcome opportunity to unburden their souls of all that oppresses them. While the main body of those present carries the customary melody in its monotonous uniformity, this or that person interrupts with a more or less long discourse, speaking of things which at the moment happen to affect his feeling and his mood. He is usually quite excited by it, as is shown by his lively, agitated

/1134 cont./

765 152 Santiago: "Today Watagínĕwa has brought great harm to us all. We are all without exception in deep mourning. It would have been better if today Watagínĕwa had allowed a whale to be stranded. Then we would have gone there tomorrow and would have cut off large pieces for ourselves. Instead he has let that woman die and the widower is now mourning bitterly!"

Evidently all the participants at this yamalalemŏna often repeated the prayer formulas and lamentations listed above (p. 989), although most of them understand only the general drift and the basic meaning. I was present while the corpse was being wrapped, and old Anikamis happened to pass the hut. He stopped for a few moments and, pointing to the dead woman, murmured to himself: "Watagínĕwa has caused that, yes 'the one-up-there' has done this!" Then he continued on his way. Similar expressions were repeated by all those present.

765 • 769 152 It must be pointed out that although this general funeral rite is stimulated by a recent death and occasioned chiefly by it, /1136/ nevertheless every participant remembers all the dead whom he personally mourns. He speaks of them loudly and openly, always without mentioning their names, distinguishing them as "my father," "my daughter," and so forth. He mentions details of their lives, certain traits of character, and the cause of death. In this way he thoroughly relieves his tortured soul of the misery of oppressive thoughts about his dead.

765 152 The gathering of many mourners, which lasts for hours, is regularly terminated with a sort of mock battle. All during the yamalalemŏna one or another of the old men informally and yet decisively exerts his influence, like a kind of tímuna. They are above all anxious to direct the attention of the participants to Watagínĕwa, and they characterize him as the one who remains responsible for the death of this and every other person. They are familiar with the traditional prayer formulas and laments and often repeat them. In this way they also impress them upon the memory of the younger people who learn their meaning. The old people, however, never explain the meaning of the words in detail; the formulas simply issue from a grief-filled soul and are neither mentioned nor discussed in everyday life. As soon as the old people feel that the favorable moment has arrived, they call

J: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each *Yahgan* had a yefačel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauináiwa, who was also called by other

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

He was trained in his professional duties by an older shaman. There was also held a shamans' institute and feast, which could last several months, to condition and school young candidates. During it, the candidates were secluded, and were required to fast, to sing much, to maintain a certain posture, to go with little sleep, and to drink water only through a hollow bird bone; and were taught healing techniques, tricks of the trade, and so forth. Women were barred from this shamans' school. Shamans were not banded into an organized society.

A full-fledged shaman, besides getting help from his special guardian spirit, was also in close touch with the spirit of a deceased shaman. The shaman's relations were with the world of lesser spirits, not with the Supreme Being, Watauinéwa; and the latter did not figure in the shamans' school.

The shaman's chief function was that of curing the sick, but he also influenced weather, helped in hunting, prognosticated, and so forth. The familiar procedures of massage, friction, and anointing, with the extraction of some object supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, were used in curing. Such objects were often believed to have been sent by malevolent shamans from whose power the good shaman endeavored to deliver the victim. An evil shaman could steal and keep in his possession the soul of a victim, and the victim would die unless his soul were freed by another shaman. It was also the function of the shaman to assign to each infant as soon after birth as possible its own yefáčel, a male one to the male infant and a female one to the female. It was the primary and most important duty of the yefáčel to protect its charge against sickness and bodily harm and against dangers of all kind.

Kina rite.—This *Yahgan* institution, with its numerous analogies to the yinchihaus of the *Alacaluf* (p. 76) and with the klóketen of the *Ona* (p. 120), could have been properly discussed under Social Culture because it had primarily a social function. But it is treated here because it also had important religious or pseudo-religious features and was largely under the direction of the shamans. In fact only a shaman could be the leader of the kina rite. Back of the kina rite was a long myth of an earlier time when the women held mastery of the tribe and lorded it over the men. To maintain their supremacy the women used masks to impersonate spirits and to hoodwink the men. Finally, one man discovered the deception, told the other men, and overthrew the women, killing all females except one very young child. In the kina rite only men who had passed twice through the čiéxaus rite could take part. Women were kept away from the large conical tent. The men secretly painted themselves and wore conical or conoidal masks (pl. 33, *d*) of bark or sealskin to impersonate a very great number

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Examination of the surfaces of the middens reveals on top a series of pits which represent house-sites (fig. 103). These pits are from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, anywhere up to six feet deep (two feet being an average figure), and are circular in outline. Within the pits are traces of inhabitation—hammers, grease stones, etc.—usually today half engulfed by grass. Sometimes house-sites can be determined by small circular patches of unusually luxuriant grass fertilized by refuse, where various utensils can be found. 172

Like the Ona, the Yahgan did not speak of the dead or camp on a spot where death was known to have occurred. So certain house-pits on any given site must at times have remained unoccupied during many decades until the memory of one who died there had passed. The other pits were occupied but intermittently by the ever-roving Yahgan. Rarely did they pass even a few weeks at any given spot. This factor makes difficult any attempt to estimate the age of these great shellheaps by calculating their cubic contents in relation to the probable number of inhabitants. 769● 172

The seaward slopes of the middens are fronting the beach and stand so close to the waters that they are occasionally dashed with spray, and many are undercut by the waves for a foot or two at the base (pl. XVI). From this, slight submergence of the land since the heaps were commenced may be argued. As the shellheaps are really great terraces built out from rising ground toward the beach, the seaward slopes are steep. This steepness is increased by the undercutting of the waves, which often cause small landslides. Thus the vegetation is removed and large sections of refuse are exposed for examination as well as if trenches had been dug. At the same time the shells, bone, and ash brought down to the beach by erosion are carried away by the sea, but the heavier stone implements are left at the base of the exposed face where they may be readily gathered. 172

An interior feature frequently exposed by erosion is that the shells have in places solidified into a breccia, which forms a floor a foot or so in thickness. These spots occur sporadically and at no uniform depth, and it was impossible to determine the special conditions which had given rise to them.

It must be remembered that, as the Yahgan had no cooking-vessels, many of the shells in the refuse have been exposed to the action of fire and hence are calcined. From this it follows that they are very brittle and have been crushed by passing feet when